



TO THE
ELECTORS OF MANCHESTER;
AND TO THOSE OF ALL THE TOWNS
IN THE NORTH.
ON THE CORN BILL.

Lewes, Sussex, 2nd of August, 1832,

MY FRIENDS,

THIS is a subject, for us to have a clear understanding with regard to which, is of vast importance; and especially at this time. The prohibition to import corn has arisen from the necessity of doing it, *in order to raise taxes*. TORRENS, in one of his addresses to the people of NEWPORT, says, that he "*struggled for the abolition of the Corn Bill in 1815.*" TORRENS is deficient in the prime quality for a person of his character; namely, MEMORY; for the Corn Bill never came into operation *until 1816*; and it was not passed until late in the year 1815; so that this wondrous man, who says, that the people of BOLTON are dying for him, actually struggled to *abolish the bill before it became a law!*

The bill was passed in spite of the petitions of the whole kingdom, and while the House of schedules A and B

were passing it, *more than a thousand soldiers were drawn up round that House!* But, now, when we are about to insist upon its repeal, let us see *what other things must be done first*; and, the way to have a clear view of this matter is, to look back at the reasons which were given for the passing of the bill. The reasons were these: that the lands of this kingdom were loaded with tithes and taxes, while France, America, and other great corn-growing countries were not so loaded; that these tithes and taxes must remain, the former because they formed "*an institution of the country,*" and the latter because they were necessary to *maintain the standing army and pay the interest of the debt*, which two concerns were inseparably connected with each other. HUSKISSON, who was for the Corn Bill, and who, on account of his support of the bill, was *burnt in effigy* at HAVANT, in Hampshire, supported it in these words, "That it was necessary to have a Corn Bill, in order to be able to pay *the interest of the debt*; that the debt had been contracted in order to ensure *a glorious result to the war*; and that Englishmen must be *content to eat dear bread* as long as they had to pay *the interest of the debt in full.*"

The Corn Bill was first petitioned for by the land-owners and farmers of WILTSHIRE, who met at SALISBURY for the purpose, and who had for their chairman that BENNETT who is now a member for the county, and who has had to ensure *his standing crops against fire!* These men told the Parliament that they were *willing to continue to pay all the taxes and tithes* if it would but give them a CORN BILL; but that it was impossible for them to continue to pay tithes and taxes if foreign corn was suffered to come in duty free! This was the ground upon which the Corn Bill was passed. I, who was a pretty large farmer at the time, reprobated the bill in the strongest terms, opposed it to my utmost at every

stage, and pursued it to the House of Lords by earnest petition against it. I contended, that the taxes ought to be taken off, and the tithes also if found necessary, and that the Corn Bill ought not to be passed.

But it was clear to every man of sense that, if all the taxes remained, and the tithes too, English land could not raise corn in competition with other countries; and that HUSKISSON was quite right when he said, "that Englishmen must *be content to eat dear bread* as long as *they had to pay the interest of the debt in full.*" You will please to observe that, with the exception of about three millions of people, the whole twenty millions of which England, Scotland, and Ireland, consist, depend in one way or another, upon the *produce of the land.* This fine country town, in which I now am, is here only for the purpose of supplying, in various ways, those who own and cultivate the land. The moment agriculture is depressed, that moment every tradesman and professional man in this town feels the effects of the depression; and, if the whole of the agricultural people could be ruined, ruin must fall upon the manufacturers at the same time and from the same cause, because their customers having become beggars there could be no sale for their goods; and you will please to bear in mind, that all the foreign countries in the world put together do not take away a *fourth part* of the goods manufactured in this kingdom.

So that to repeal the Corn Bill without repealing taxes at the same time, and abolishing tithes, would be to produce general ruin and beggary. Therefore we are to begin by abolishing tithes; by repealing the malt, hop, and soap taxes; and, these measures adopted, I am not for a *revision* of the Corn Bill, but for a *total repeal of it*; and this, you will observe, makes the whole country unanimous, with the exception of those who devour our earnings through the channel of the taxes. No man, who is not well acquainted with the whole of these affairs, can form an adequate idea of the prodigious

benefit which the land would receive, and which we should all receive, from the repeal of the *malt-tax alone.* The amount of this tax, including the expense of collection, is about *six millions* a year. Now, mark: when the barley is *four shillings* a bushel, the malt would be *four shillings* a bushel, if there were no tax; because the *increase* during the malting pays for the malting. As things now stand, when barley is *four shillings* a bushel, malt is *nine shillings*, though the tax is only *two and sixpence.* The other two and sixpence goes to the maltster to pay for the capital which he is obliged to employ in the advance of duties, to compensate him for the various injuries he receives from the excise restrictions, and to guarantee him against the perils amidst which he is continually placed by the pains and penalties which surround him; so that this malt-tax, which nominally amounts to *six millions* a year, amounts in reality to *thirteen millions and a half* in a year!

This is a mere glimpse at the effects of this one terrible tax, of which the attendant evils, moral as well as physical, are greater than any pen or tongue can describe; and yet, I see that Mr. MARK PHILLIPS *will not pledge himself even to a repeal of the malt-tax!* Take these burdens from the land, and there is no country in the world that can grow corn in competition with England. Take off these burdens, and you may sweep away the Corn Bill at once. Take them off, and then we proceed with reason and justice for our guides; and, I do hope, that no member will be chosen not pledged to take off these intolerable burdens, leaving those who have chosen to lend their money to schedules A and B, to get it from those worthies, if they can; and, at any rate, not to suffer our children now in the cradle to be slaves for life to those money-lenders. Hoping that you all will be faithful and true to your trust, to your country, to your neighbours, and to your children, I remain,

Your faithful friend,

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
ELECTORS OF MANCHESTER,
OF OLDHAM, OF PRESTON, OF BOLTON,
OF WIGAN, OF BLACKBURN,

And those of the other towns in the North ;

ON THE HOP AND SOAP TAXES.

Lewes, Sussex, 4 August, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

BE so good as to attend, while I explain to you the reasons why I deem it of so much importance that candidates be *pledged to the repeal of these taxes*. The taxes both together do not, I think, amount to *a million and a half a year*. Being at a distance from my books, I cannot speak with precision ; but I am not far from being correct as to this amount. Why, then, seeing that the amount is so small compared to that of some other taxes, do I deem a repeal of these as being of such *primary importance* ? Please, then, to attend to my reasons.

In my last address, which was on the subject of the MALT-TAX, I showed that while its annual amount was *six millions* a year, it caused THE PEOPLE TO PAY THIRTEEN MILLIONS AND A HALF A YEAR more than they would pay if the tax were taken off. It is the same thing, and in a greater degree, in the case of SOAP. To make *hard soap* is a process requiring some skill, and certain utensils ; but, to make *soft soap* (applicable to all really important purposes) is a thing done by, not only all farmers, but by the poorest people in America ; and we here in England might make it for about *three half-pence or two-pence a pound*. Look, then, at the *magnitude* of the thing ; consider how *absolutely necessary* the article ; consider the enormous expense of collecting this tax, and you will find that *we pay four millions a year for soap more than we should pay if there were no tax upon it !*

The HOP-TAX is a still more monstrous thing ; amongst all the fiscal oppressions ever endured by men it is the most unjust and most odious, and is immediately and visibly attended with the worst consequences. This tax

amounts, on an average of years, to about four hundred thousand pounds ; but this is a mere trifle compared with the sum which the tax *causes the people to pay for their hops*. The hops are an ingredient absolutely necessary in the making of good and wholesome beer. To every bushel of malt, there is required, in the making of *strong* beer, which is to keep for a good while, *one pound of hops*. These hops, owing to the tax, now cost, on an average of years, more than a *shilling a pound* ; on which the duty is *twopence*. If there were no tax, hops would not cost the people, on an average, *twopence a pound*. Throughout all the counties south of Cheshire, they would cost not one penny a pound. The hops are a *pure gift of God*, as much as the *salt* is : the latter he causes the sea to cast upon the shore for us ; and the former he causes to spring up in our hedges, without any more care on our part than is demanded by the lily of the field. I have seen the hops in the hedges from the neighbourhood of HULL in Yorkshire to LANGUARD in the Isle of Wight, and from WALMER, in the neighbourhood of DOVER, to HELSTON in Cornwall. In many cases it would be sufficient to stick poles into the hedges, and let the hops run up them ; but, in no case would a labourer's family require more than about eight hills of hops, which would occupy about half a rod of ground, sixteen feet and a half to the rod. Upon a bit of ground like this there would be eight hop-hills, which, attended to as they necessarily would be in a garden, would produce, on an average of years, from ten to twelve pounds of hops, actually costing nothing but the use of the poles, those poles, observe, being fuel, after three or four years of service in carrying the hops. The main part of the beer, used by working people, would not require more than a third part of a pound of hops to a bushel of malt ; so that, merely from the private gardens alone, there would be more than a sufficient supply of hops, in the far greater part of the counties ; for, as to *country towns*, they form, to all intents and purposes, a

part of the agricultural population of the kingdom. Hops would be raised everywhere; more in the south than in the north; but they would be raised everywhere; and the price would, on an average, not exceed twopence a pound. They might be threepence, or even fourpence, in the very great towns, especially in the north; but, on an *average*, the price to the people of England and Scotland would not exceed twopence a pound; and I dare say that they would be as cheap in Ireland, when once the cultivation of them should be understood there.

So that, observe, it is not only these 400,000 pounds a year which we pay in hop-duty, together with the monstrous expense in collecting the duty, which, in many cases, EXCEEDS IN AMOUNT THE DUTY ITSELF; it is not only these burdens which we are compelled to bear, in order to be permitted to have our beer to keep for any length of time; but, there is the much heavier burden arising from the PROHIBITION. At a shilling a pound, our present average supply of hops costs us *two millions four hundred thousand pounds a year*; when, if there were no *prohibition* to the growing of them, they would, as I have shown, cost us only four hundred thousand pounds a year. A man cannot now raise hops in his garden, nor anywhere else, without *making a report of his intention to the Government*, and without all sorts of plague from the visits of excisemen and supervisors and God knows what, or without being dragged into the Exchequer by the hair of the head, and there torn to pieces. The hops would grow up to our hands, and invite us to gather them; but this Government, which we have so long endured, forbids us to accept of the invitation, on pain of pretty certain ruin and of probable death! A gracious Providence says to us, "THERE ARE HOPS FOR YOU." The "envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world" says, "YOU SHALL NOT HAVE THOSE HOPS; AND IF YOU ATTEMPT TO OBEY THIS INVITATION, WE WILL TEAR YOU TO PIECES!" This is what the "envy" has said

to us for more than a century: and this is what HOPE and LLOYD, and, I believe, MARK PHILLIPS, too, have now the audacity to say, if not in so many words, by clear implication, to the electors of MANCHESTER; and, if those electors can listen to such men for one moment, let me, in God's name, be an object even of their curses.

Thus, then, here we have *two millions four hundred thousand pounds* to pay for hops, *purely on account of this tax*. The "ENVY OF SURROUNDING," in order to screw four hundred thousand pounds a year out of us, compels us to pay *two millions four hundred thousand pounds!* Nor does the evil end with this fiscal oppression. All the physical evils attending the malt-tax; the compelling of the sack-weaver, naked to his waist in the cellars of PRESTON, to drink water instead of beer; the compelling of the toilers in the mines, at the furnaces, to do the same; the compelling of the labourer in the fields to quench his thirst from a bottle of water, while the scythe is stretching his nerves nearly to the cracking, and while the sun is darting its rays upon his back; the driving of the young men and boys from the farm-houses to crowd into the cottages of their parents, and to stroll about in the night; the taking of the beer-barrels from the working man's house, and to plunge him into the debaucheries of the alehouse or the beer-shop: in the producing of these monstrous evils, these great causes of the disgraceful increase of crime, and the still more disgraceful hardening of the criminal code; in the producing of these evils, the hop-tax has its full share with the malt-tax; but it is attended with an evil *peculiar to itself*, and one of peculiar malignity of character: it is the ground-work, the sole cause of GAMBLING, the most extensive and the most mischievous that was ever heard of in the world. The hop is a plant of very precarious produce; sometimes a single pole will have from a pound to two pounds of hops upon it; and the crop varies from that amount down to an ounce, or to nothing at all. It will keep good for almost any length of time. I have

made excellent beer with hops nearly twenty years old : so that no inconvenience arises from this great variation in the amount of the crop ; or, at least, no inconvenience would arise out of it, were it not for the hellish tax which has been inflicted upon us. Owing to the tax, the cultivation of the hop is in reality a *monopoly*, almost exclusively confined to the planters of KENT, SUSSEX, SURREY, and WORCESTER. The duty, you will perceive, is twopence the pound weight. When the hop-harvest is over, the number of pounds grown in the whole kingdom is ascertained to a nicety by the whole amount of the duty. The hop begins to climb the pole in the month of May, and it has hardly begun to climb, when the gambling vagabonds in all these counties, intermixed with a swarm in each county coming out of the BOROUGH of SOUTHWARK, which is their *rendezvous*, begin BETTING upon the amount of the duty ! According to the variations in the season, the hop varies in the prospect which it gives of a crop ; as the prospect varies the bettings vary : an easterly wind will cause a profligate fellow to make a bet to day in the teeth of a bet that he made yesterday. Thus, from May till September, there are going on scenes of profligacy infinitely worse than those ever created by the lotteries, till, at last, before the crop be gathered in, there is staked, in the way of gambling, perhaps ten times the amount of even the worth of the hops ! Thus are hundreds and thousands of families brought to ruin ; thus do stupid and wicked rulers convert the choicest blessings of God into the means of afflicting and tormenting the people to whom those blessings are sent !

And shall a *reformed Parliament* suffer these crying evils to exist ? That will depend solely upon you, the electors of the great towns of the North. I am persuaded that my Lord GREY knows nothing at all of the evils of this tax, and of the malt-tax. Being made acquainted with them, I hope that he will be ready to take the taxes off ; but this I know well, that if you elect any man who will not pledge himself to

use his utmost endeavours to cause these taxes to be taken off, you will deserve to be slaves to the last hour of your lives, and will merit the scorn, instead of the dutiful affection, of your children. In the sure and certain hope that you will do your duty well, and that you will bear in mind, that, in voting, you will vote for your non-voting neighbours as well as for yourselves ; in this sure and certain hope, I remain

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
ELECTORS OF BOLTON.
TORRENS-HUNTING.

Lewes, Sussex, 1 August, 1832.

TALK of rat-hunting, indeed ! Talk of badger-baiting ! Talk of otter-hunting : the pursued animal sometimes under water, sometimes swimming, and sometimes on land ! Talk of any of these, while we have TORRENS-HUNTING to attract our attention !

In order to describe this sport, in a manner to do it anything like justice, I must begin by a little narrative, to the *dates* in which I must beg my readers to pay attention. On the 4th of July, I saw, in the *Bolton Chronicle*, a paragraph, stating that TORRENS wished the people of BOLTON to make haste, and pledge themselves to elect him by a decided majority ; for that *two-thirds* of the electors of the borough of NEWPORT, in the *Isle of Wight*, were actually fainting with impatience, actually sighing and sick with a longing to have him for one of their members. I, knowing the fellow to be a *brevet-colonel* of Marines ON FULL PAY, and stated, in the last *Navy List*, to be stationed on duty at Chatham ; knowing that he was receiving his full pay, and had quarters and servants, and was receiving candles and coals at CHATHAM ; knowing that he has lived in London about twelve years, where he has been a dabbler in divers newspapers, and where he is now



the chief dabbler in that dirtiest of all the dirty tools of the Whigs, called "THE GLOBE;" I, knowing these things, and being fully persuaded that the good people of BOLTON and of NEWPORT knew nothing of them, stated the facts in my *Register* of the 7th of July.

But, as time was precious, I put the statement into the form of an address to the people of BOLTON, had it printed in the shape of a *hand-bill*, two thousand in number, which (with the exception of one hundred) I sent off to BOLTON by coach, on *Thursday, the 5th of July*, accompanied with the *Navy List*, containing the proof of the facts. On the same day (5th of July) I set off for the CHOPSTICK festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, which was held on the 7th. At this festival I met, as I expected, some friends from the Isle of Wight. To them I gave the *hundred BOLTON bills*, which I had reserved for the purpose. These bills got about NEWPORT on the *eighth*. The Bolton bills had reached their destination on the same day; so that there was TORRENS, the hunters actually at his heels, at one and the same time at both places, though at three hundred miles distance from each other; and, viewing him as AN OTTER, it thus became useless for him to *dive*; for, rise at which end he would, there was a shot or a snap at his service.

TORRENS appears to have been in London at the time, looking after his "GLOBE," and hatching the scheme of being *elected for both places*; when, all of a sudden, while lost in the delightful reverie, he was aroused by hearing the hunter upon his heels! There is a gentleman of the name of PRING, at NEWPORT; a man of considerable business, who has also a business which he carries on at CHATHAM, in Kent. From some motive or other, which I do not understand, but which I by no means have reason to think bad, this Mr. PRING, together with others, who are very laudably anxious to counteract the old corporation of the borough, who are endeavouring to thrust in one WILLOUGHBY GORDON, a notorious tax-eater to a vast amount; these gentlemen, most likely knowing very little of TOR-

RENS, went and offered their borough to him; so that, when my Bolton-bill arrived at NEWPORT, it caused great confusion: for, though Mr. PRING and those who had acted with him, are very worthy and very much respected persons, it was too monstrous a thing to suppose that a majority of the electors of that beautiful and now independent town would actually choose, to represent them in Parliament, a SINECURIST of the *most odious description*.

In short, it was very soon found, that this full-pay newspaper-conductor must be *cast off*; or that the most virtuous part of the electors would not vote at all; and that, the old corporation would still be the choosers of the members. The result was, a resolution to *get rid of Torrens* as speedily as possible, and to bring another man into the field. Accordingly, a Mr. ORD, who is mentioned in my last *Register*, has been brought forward by the radical-committee to supply the place of TORRENS; and of this ORD I shall have to speak by-and-bye. At a meeting held at Newport on the 24th of July, Mr. PRING had to state what had taken place between him and TORRENS, relative to this change in the views of the parties: and here we get into a full view of the TORRENS-HUNTING affair. Mr. PRING's account places us upon an eminence, whence we behold all the interesting circumstances of the chase; all the scamperings and creepings and lurkings and lodgings and divings of the OTTER; and see him at last fairly turned up amidst the shouting and laughing of the spectators. Mr. PRING's affecting narrative was in the following words; and I beseech my readers to pay attention to every word of it.—"Mr. PRING, "on rising, was *loudly cheered*. He "said, '*On the 11th inst.*, when at "Chatham, I received a letter from "Colonel Torrens, stating that he had "something of importance to communicate to me. Fearing that all was "not right at Newport, I immediately "proceeded to London to get an interview with him, which, after some little difficulty, I obtained, and then I "eagerly inquired if all was not right

“*at Newport.* He assured me that
 “*nothing was amiss there; but the*
 “*Bolton people having redoubled their*
 “*exertions to secure his return,* he was
 “*at a loss to know which path to pur-*
 “*sue.* I said to him, You must fulfil
 “*the pledge you have given to the*
 “*electors of Newport, and therefore*
 “*I wish to have your final resolve,*
 “*that I may inform my colleagues*
 “*and friends there.* He said he could
 “*not give an answer then; but that*
 “*he would do so on the morrow.* I
 “*saw him again next day, and wished*
 “*him to write to the committee and*
 “*there state what he intended to do,*
 “*as the people of Newport were de-*
 “*termined that he should have only*
 “*one sweetheart at a time.* (Cheers.)
 “*But, gentlemen, I will tell you what*
 “*I said further to him. ‘Are you or*
 “*are you not called on by the Treasury*
 “*to abandon us?’* He declared *by his*
 “*God* that he was not called on by
 “*them to act; but, as a gentleman, in*
 “*in point of honour he could not give*
 “*up his friends at Bolton; still, if the*
 “*electors of Newport would let him*
 “*try his chance for both, they might*
 “*command him and he would obey.* I
 “*then proceeded to Newport, with a*
 “*promise from Colonel Torrens that*
 “*he would write to the committee*
 “*and state what had passed between*
 “*us.’*”

Now, pray mark; it was on the
 eleventh of July that Mr. PRING (being
 at Chatham) got a letter from TORRENS,
 which, of course, was written on the
 tenth; stating that he, TORRENS, had
 something of importance to communi-
 cate to him. Observe, this letter was
 written three days after the BOLTON bill
 had appeared in the *Register*, and two
 days after it had appeared at NEWPORT.
 Why should Mr. PRING fear that “*all*
 “*was not right at NEWPORT?*” Off, how-
 ever, he flew to London; and, though
 he had been pressed by TORRENS to
 come to him on matters of importance,
 “*he had some little difficulty*” in get-
 ting a sight of the full-pay newspaper-
 conductor! When he did get at him,
 however, he “*eagerly asked him if*
 “*all was not right at Newport.*” Come,

come, Mr. PRING, be frank, and tell us,
 that you had not only seen the BOLTON-
 bill in the *Register*, but that you had
 been informed of its effect at NEW-
 PORT!

However, TORRENS told you “*that*
 “*there was nothing amiss there; but that*
 his Bolton electors were so devilishly
 troublesome with their importunities,
 that he, like one of his military prede-
 cessors, CAPTAIN MACHEATH, between
 POLLY PEACHUM and LUCY LOCKIT, was
 at “*a loss to know what path to pur-*
 “*sue!*” O God! what a mass of lies
 and of hypocrisy? Mr. PRING, who
 seems to have been in mighty close
 correspondence with TORRENS, the lat-
 ter writing to him at CHATHAM, and
 not at NEWPORT: Mr. PRING seems to
 have been peremptory, like POLLY
 PEACHUM, that there should be *no di-*
 “*vision* of the favours of TORRENS; and,
 to use his own words, that the hero
 should have “*but one sweetheart at a*
 “*time.*” TORRENS, however, seems to
 have had a strong hankering after an
 indulgence in political bigamy; and,
 after declaring, “*by his God,*” that he
 was not acting under the influence of
 the Treasury, but under the constraint
 imposed upon him by the *honour of a*
 “*gentleman,* which bound him not to
 “*give up his friends at BOLTON,* he said
 that he was still ready to “*obey*” the
 electors of Newport, “*if they would*
 “*let him try his chance for both places!*”

This seems to have been a dose of
 impudence too much for even Mr. PRING
 to swallow; and so that gentleman set
 off for Newport, to make a report of the
 progress of the chace thus far. TORRENS
 “*finding that all was not right at New-*
 “*port,*” appears to have *dived away* to
 the North; for, in about five or six
 days, we find him coming up, crowned
 with “*all the majesty of mud,*” at Bol-
 ton. There the hunters were ready for
 him with the devilish bills in their
 hands; but there was something worse
 than this; there was Mr. THOMAS SMITH
 from Liverpool, openly to reprobate, in
 speech and in print, his professions and
 his principles, and to *challenge him to an*
 “*open discussion of them both before the*
 “*faces of his wished-for constituents;*

which challenge *he declined*, under the miserable pretence that his committee *would not let him accept of it!* And now, there he stands, rejected with scorn at Newport, rejected by the virtuous electors of that town; and having, I trust, no more chance of being elected for BOLTON, than HULTON or BIRLEY would, if they had the audacity to offer themselves. What! this town, pre-eminent for its public spirit; this town, which has a hundred times expressed its indignation at the existence of the insolent *sinecures*; this town elect a man, who is the most odious of all possible sinecurists; a man who cannot vote for taking off the burdens from the people of BOLTON, without voting away his own bread! This town, thus do an act that would say, that the child in the cradle ought to be a slave all its life! This town, so distinguished for public virtue, choose this sinecure placeman, when they know all about him; and when they know, too, that the virtuous electors of the town of Newport cast him off with scorn, the moment they discovered that he was a sinecure-feeder on the taxes! To believe in this thing I must *see it*; and to see this thing done in a town of Lancashire, would give me pain such as never yet found its way to my heart.

To the people of NEWPORT, whose kind treatment of me entitles them to my attention and my regard, I would beg leave to observe, generally, that *boroughmongering* can be carried on by other persons besides Lords; and that, if they be to have members thrust upon them, who will not pledge themselves distinctly to do the things that are necessary to be done to relieve the people from their burdens, it signifies not a straw to them whether the members be *forced* upon them by Lords, or *foisted* upon them by others. This ORD is said to be a *nominee of Burdett*: it would be full as well for him to be the nominee of the Treasury. But the true way is, let a man be who or what he may, *to make him distinctly pledge himself to the abolition of tithes, the repeal of the malt, hop, and soap taxes, and the repeal of the Corn Bill.* I think it a

monstrous absurdity, that the people of Newport should seek for anybody but a couple of their own farmers or tradesmen to represent them; but if they must go a Parliament-man-hunting; if they must send deputations to London to seek for somebody to take care of them, let the virtuous electors resolve, that they will vote for no man who will not distinctly give the above-mentioned pledges.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have heard from BOLTON, and find that the chase there has been literally *hot!* It seems that, on the 27th of July, (Mr. SMITH having departed for LIVERPOOL) the gallant man in full-pay, imitating those skilful commanders who deem "*discretion the better part of valour,*" made his appearance before the people of BOLTON; but, for a reason not very necessary to mention, made that appearance at a *window*, and not on any collateral station, that being considered, doubtless, to be beneath a gentleman in *full-pay!* Though this station put the person of the gallant man out of the reach of hostile *arms*, it appears not to have protected him against the hostility of *tongues*; and, it seems, that he was compelled to retreat from the window by hissing and groaning indescribable. After which he had, it appears, to undergo by *proxy* that species of *fiery* ordeal to which his great leader, the DUKE, has of late been so frequently subjected, and which is but too probably "*a foretaste of that which is to come.*" It is said, that thus beset, he offered to *take the pledges* which had been tendered to him, and even to *sell his commission!* Sell! Sell, indeed! What! Being detected, he is ready to shift out of the thing himself and to fasten a successor upon us. He is ready to turn over his sinecure to another, and to sack a sum of money as a compensation for the transfer! The people of BOLTON want him *disbanded*: they want him *discharged*, and *sent to work for his bread.* They want him to be scraping the roads, or filling dung-carts, instead of getting 500*l.* a year out of the people, as "*an officer on ser-*

vice," while he is trundling about that ball of filth, which he calls "the *Globe*." Yes, yes, filling dung-carts, instead of tumbling over and over this ball of contents much more disgusting than any that ever broom ejected from a stable. How my readers in America will laugh, when I compare TORRENS'S occupation to that of their *back insects*, which make the cow-droppings into round balls, that they *tumble* over and over, and to which insects an *alliterative compound name* is given, which it is not necessary for me to write! Yes, dung-cart; and, then, when the "*statute of labourers*" shall have been revived, he will have "*full-pay*" still; but he will be kept at *full-work*, and will not be paid *for filling dung-carts at Chatham*, while he is gabbling politics *at fifty miles distance!* Dung-cart for your life, my friends of Bolton; a hunch of good pork and bread for his breakfast, washed down with a mug of bushel-beer, he seated upon a dry knole in the farm-yard, with a pair of great clumping nailed shoes upon his feet, his beard three days old, and each of his dirty fingers as thick as a broomstick. Aye, my friends, put a good Kentish dung-fork into his hand instead of that *pen* with which he is everlastingly scribbling about "*corn bills*, and *against poor-laws for Ireland*;" and that too, in language so brutally illiterate, as to make us believe that he had drawn the letters promiscuously out of a bag. Make him help to *raise corn*, my friends, instead of spoiling paper about it; make him *feel* the necessity of *poor-laws*, instead of making others poor by devouring their earnings, and then abusing them because they are poor; and, as he is for *checking population*, take especial good care that you have none of his progeny to keep.

DELICIOUS DISH.

READER, I dare say that you have, very frequently, when you have stuck your teeth into a fine ripe *French Mignonne* peach, been compelled hastily to push your head forward and hang it

down, lest the juice should gallop down your chin under your cravat: just such a motion of the mouth, and just such an expression of luscious delight as your mouth has in such a case expressed, did mine make and express when I read the following account of the "*FIRST COMMONER IN ENGLAND*" notifying his intention to bid farewell, a long farewell, to those "*envy of the surrounding*," the ever-renowned schedules A and B! But, however strongly tempted to indulge in the delicious dish myself, I must not keep you from it; and I, therefore, here lay it before you without any garnish, of which, God knows, it stands in no need any more than of *sauce piquante*; it being within itself dish, garnish, sauce and all. Pray, do mark BURDETT! Pray, do mark them all: see how they rise, one after another: first one *on one side*; then one *on t'other side*; and each seeming to try to surpass the other in the discovery of reasons for the voting away of our money, and the laying a load on the backs of our children who are now in the cradle. One day's enjoyment of the feast appears not to have been enough. They came at it the second day, apparently with more keenness than the first, verifying the old proverb, "That eating like scratching, only wants a be-ginning." God save us, if they go on at this rate: they will *bespeak* all the taxes before they go away; and then, if we ask for a repeal of any, that honest, honest man, Lord ALTHORP, with his mouth full of lamb's-wool, will tell us that they are "*vethted*!" "The devil they are!" a reformed Parliament will exclaim. Well, we must unvest them then, if they be vested. This would be a pretty story, indeed! The things really seems to resemble a ship that is got upon the rocks and is manifestly going to pieces, every man looking to himself, and is laying hold of what he can to get off with. "*Vethted*," indeed! It will be "*vethted*" till the reformed Parliament shall meet; but not much longer I imagine.

I am breaking my promise; but the temptation to gormandise is so great,

that I can hardly bring myself to give up the dish to my readers. Here it is, however. And I do beseech them to look well at BURDETT; I beseech them to look at MURRAY and his "*experiment*." Look at Lord JOHNNY: look at them all. There were three or four days during which this delightful performance was taking place; and I shall insert an account of the whole affair.

Monday, 30th July.

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF THE SPEAKER.

The SPEAKER addressed the House in nearly the following terms:—As the state of the public business indicates at the present moment, the near approach of the close of the session, and as I know not how close on the termination of this session there may be a dissolution of Parliament, I hope the House will not deem me unreasonable in requesting to be allowed to present myself to their notice before my seat in this chair shall be brought to a final conclusion. I have had the honour and the pride to be elected to fill this chair in six successive Parliaments. (Cheers.) I have at all times been impressed with the conviction, that the first and most important duties of the Speaker were to maintain the strictest watchfulness over his own conduct, and to keep alive the watchfulness of this House in the maintenance of all their rights, privileges, and independence—to facilitate, as far as was within his power, the regular course of all public business—and to conduct himself to the House at large, and to every individual member of it, with the strictest impartiality. (Cheers.) I can most conscientiously, and I hope it will not be attributed to me that I speak arrogantly, when I boldly say that I have served this office with the strictest impartiality. (Loud cheers.) I have not the temerity to place myself in contrast or comparison with any of my predecessors; but among the various duties that have been by circumstances imposed upon me, always laborious, often difficult and delicate, I have been cheered and upheld by the best encouragement and support—by the constant cooperation, the confidence, and the approbation of the House. (Cheers.) I therefore hope, that in my conduct in this chair, I have not been wholly inefficient; for, however various have been the changes during these successive Par-

liaments in the returns of members of this House, I at least have seen no change in the kindness, the consideration, and the assistance that all the members have willingly afforded me; that kindness has been uniform and unvaried. I ought, after this announcement, no longer to trespass on your time; but conscious as I am, and as every man must be, of the great variety of imperfections under which I labour, there is one to which I particularly wish to refer, and if at any time through infirmity of temper, or pressure of indisposition, there has been any inattentiveness or hastiness on my part, it must be attributed to these causes; incivility, I hope there has never been. (Hear, hear, hear.) To any member of this House to whom I may have appeared inattentive or hasty, I beg to express my most sincere and hearty regret. It is not, I hope, consistent with the general turn of my nature. I know it is inconsistent with the discharge of my duty. Before I go, the House I hope will pardon me for taking this opportunity of saying, that in my endeavours to discharge my duty, I am conscious that I must have committed many faults. The House, I am persuaded, will pardon them; and suffer me to say in one sentence, which proceeds from the fulness of my heart, that I owe them a debt of gratitude which it is impossible to describe, which any power of language, at least any that I possess, must inadequately express, but of which the deep and lasting recollection neither time nor circumstances can ever efface. The right hon. Gentleman, who spoke throughout with very observable emotion, sat down amidst the loud and continued cheering of the House.

Lord ALTHORP then addressed the House, but in so low and indistinct a tone, that although the most perfect silence prevailed, it was often extremely difficult to catch what he said:—What I have just heard from you, Sir, I have heard with deep regret, because it announces to us the loss of your most valuable services; and I am sure I speak the sentiments of every Gentleman in this House, in saying, that in every respect those services have been most valuable to this House and the country. (Hear, hear, hear.) I have had the honour of a seat in this House during the whole of the period that you have sat in that chair. I was present at the period of your election, and I hope I may be permitted to say

that, although on that occasion I did not agree with the majority, yet, that subsequent experience proved to me that which I am happy now to have the opportunity of stating publicly, as I have often before stated it in private, that the House could not at that period have selected any individual better qualified than yourself to sustain your high station. (Hear, hear, hear.) That station is one of great difficulty—you have to maintain the order of this House; but your peculiar felicity in the discharge of that difficult duty has been to exhibit the greatest urbanity of manner, (hear, hear, hear,) the greatest kindness towards every member of this House; and I am sure that every member will agree with me in saying, that by the exhibition of those qualities, you have greatly facilitated the discharge of your duty, and have entitled yourself to the gratitude of us all. (Hear, hear.) You have, during the course of the period you have been in that chair, been called on for a degree of exertion which I believe has never before been required from any Speaker. (Hear, hear.) Although others have sat as Speakers for a longer period, no one has had such laborious duties to perform, and I am perfectly confident that no one ever performed those duties in a manner more satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) I have personally felt the great kindness which you have always been ready to show. You have assisted us when we have been in difficulties. Instead of standing strictly upon forms, you have gone out of your way to assist us in the conduct of business, and I am perfectly satisfied, from long experience in this House, that you have facilitated the dispatch of public business with the greatest credit to yourself, with advantage to the public, and in such a manner that we are never likely to see exceeded, if we see it equalled. (Hear, hear.) The feeling of regret which I have expressed is, I assure you, the sincere feeling of my heart. I am most sorry that we should lose the advantage of your services. I should have been most happy that you should have taken the chair in the new Parliament (hear, hear); for your experience would have conducted greatly to the advantage of the public. (Hear, hear.) We cannot, however, call on you to make greater sacrifices than you have done; and the only thing we can do is, to regret the loss of your services, and to hope that your place may be supplied by one who will endeavour to imitate you. (Hear.) I now address

myself to the House. I am confident that there will be no dissentient voice on the motion which I am about to submit to the House. The feelings of every one must lead him to wish that we should pass a vote of thanks to the Speaker; and it will therefore not be necessary that I should urge any arguments in favour of my motion. (Hear.) The noble Lord then moved, "That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. Charles Manners Sutton, Speaker of this House, for his eminent services in the six successive Parliaments; during which he has discharged the duties of Speaker with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself and conducive to the progress of public business: that he be assured that this House feels the strongest sense of the advantage which it has derived from his attachment to the interests of his country, from his unwearied assiduity during a period of unexampled labour in this House, from the steadiness and firmness with which he has on all occasions maintained the dignity and privileges of the Commons House of Parliament, from the attention which he has paid to the order of our proceedings, and from the urbanity and kindness which he has uniformly displayed in the discharge of his high and important duties."

MR. GOULBURN—I trust, Sir, that I may be permitted to have the honour of seconding the motion of the noble Lord opposite. I, too, Sir, am one of the few who were present when we selected you to fill the situation of Speaker to this House, and I have witnessed, for six successive Parliaments, your able discharge of the duties of that office. On your election to that chair I was, with every one of your friends, fully convinced that, in electing you, we had secured to the House all the advantages of which the noble Lord has spoken. Although there were two candidates for the chair, I believe there was not one dissentient voice as to the eminent qualifications you possessed for the office. There was only a preference among some of the Members, but you alone ventured to express a doubt of the impropriety of the choice. There is no task more difficult than to state the particular grounds of approval where all your conduct deserves approbation. I will not say how you have discharged your duty, for all must be conscious of your general urbanity of manner. (Hear, hear.) During periods of the greatest excitement you have maintained the freedom of debate, yet you have known how to check

personal violence—you have known how to do so by the influence of your own example. (Hear, hear.) I have not the least doubt, that whenever any individual comes to review the transactions of the last fifteen years, the impartial historian will record that you have preserved the best rights of this House in the best manner. You have bound every member of the House to you by ties of affection which your conduct has most amply deserved. (Hear, hear.) I will not fatigue the House by dwelling longer on these topics; I shall only express my deep regret that the period has at length arrived at which the House of Commons must necessarily be deprived of your valuable services. (Hear, hear.) But whether it shall be your pleasure to retire to the walks of private life, or whether, as I hope, you will continue to take part in the great affairs of this country—(hear, hear)—in either alternative, I am sure the House and the country will entertain a grateful recollection of your services; and throughout the United Empire you will only meet with one voice of approbation. (Cheers.)

Mr. LITTLETON—I have not much, Sir, to add to what has fallen from my right hon. Friend and from the noble Lord who has proposed this motion; but I cannot let this opportunity pass without adding my humble tribute of approbation to that which they have expressed; and I am sure that the hundreds of members who have passed through this House during the time that you have held the chair, will re-echo the sentiment. (Hear, hear.) There is, however, one point in your conduct which has not yet been mentioned, and to which I wish particularly to call the attention of the House. As a county member, I must say, that I have always observed in you the exercise of the most constant and vigilant attention to parliamentary business, which, during six successive Parliaments, has had the effect of purifying the proceedings upon private bills; and you have always shown the utmost readiness, in disregard of your own health and convenience, to assist those members who have sought your advice. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the latter fact, I may mention the result of your kindness and your labour. In the first session in which you took the chair as Speaker, there were no less than one in five bills liable to objection on account of informality; while in the last session, not more than one in seventeen was

found to be defective. (Hear, hear, hear.) The public have, therefore, gained greatly in the security afforded by your means to arrangements relating to property; and the House have gained by the time you have economised. I could not let this opportunity pass without stating this fact, which I do with the more pride and pleasure, when I reflect that I had the honour to second your nomination to the high office you have so ably filled. (Hear, hear.)

Sir F. BURDETT—I should not feel satisfied with myself, Sir, if I were to sit still without stating the result of my experience of your conduct in that chair. In one point only do I differ from the noble Lord who has made this motion. Like him, I am satisfied that the House could not have elected any one better qualified to fill your high office than yourself; but, unlike him, I thought so at the time of your election; and I had the good fortune—not being swayed, as I hope I never was nor ever shall be under such circumstances by feelings of a political cast—I did then, and I say now with pride that I did it—I did myself the honour of voting for your appointment to the chair. (Hear, hear.) I repeat, that I am proud and honoured by having given that vote. Your ability all are ready to acknowledge; but if there is any one thing which more than another gives a greater dignity to your office, it is not merely your ability or your independence, but, under every circumstance of difficulty, your gentlemanly deportment. I will not say that the persons who come after you will not be able to equal you in this merit; but this I will say, with the utmost confidence, that it is quite impossible any person should ever be your superior. (Cheers.) And this will be, in my opinion, the great difficulty we shall feel in finding a fit successor. (Hear, hear.) The labours you have undergone are such as were never surpassed, and I believe never equalled by any former Speaker; and, excepting one day, on one melancholy occasion, you have never been absent from the discharge of your duty. Most heartily and cordially do I agree with the motion of the noble Lord.

Sir GEORGE MURRAY—I most cordially concur with the motion of the noble Lord, and beg to take this opportunity of expressing my conviction of the excellent manner in which the business of this House has been conducted while under your management. I regret

most deeply that the business of the new Parliament is not to commence under your guidance. (Hear.) We are about to try a great experiment; and I hope every one will give me credit for sincerity when I say that I am most anxious that that experiment should be successful. (Hear, hear.) I am anxious that the House should enter on that experiment with every possible advantage, and there is no advantage more important than that the chair of this House should be filled by a Speaker possessing extensive knowledge of the laws and usages of Parliament, and be qualified with those endowments which have so eminently distinguished you, and especially with that gentlemanly deportment to which the hon. Baronet has alluded. (Hear, hear, hear.)

LORD JOHN RUSSELL—I cannot let this opportunity pass without saying that I fully agree with all that has been said as to the assistance that the House and the public have derived from the admirable performance of your duty. (Hear, hear.) If there was any difference of opinion as to what candidate should be elected at the time when you were first appointed to the chair, there never since has been any but one unanimous feeling that in re-electing you they have best secured the performance of the duties of Speaker and the preservation of the privileges of this House. (Hear, hear, hear.) You have been pleased to say, that in the discharge of your duties you have received the assistance of this House; if so, then am I sure that that assistance has been willingly and universally rendered, on account of that gentlemanly feeling which made every man feel that in transgressing against the orders of this House he not only violated a public duty, but would have something to reproach himself as a private man in resisting those orders, when enforced on his attention in such a conciliatory manner. Other men may be found with the same knowledge of the laws and usages of Parliament, but it will be difficult enough in practice to find the same urbanity and kindness of demeanour which have so attached us all to you. (Hear, hear.) You have declined a comparison with your predecessors. On that subject, therefore, I will say nothing. But I will say of those who succeed you, that if they wish to join authority to conciliation and a knowledge of the laws of Parliament, which I believe are the best that could be formed for the govern-

ment of a deliberative assembly—if they wish to learn the art that shall make the execution of their duties pleasant and easy, I hope they will look upon you (hear, hear); and that those who were with you when you presided in this House will try to make up the loss we are about to sustain, by endeavouring as much as possible to imitate your conduct (Cheers.)

SIR C. WETHERELL—I must be allowed to express my concurrence with what has already been said on the subject of this motion. That you deserve the expressions of approbation you have received is manifest from this, that the sentiments expressed on both sides of the House are similar in terms, and in spirit are the same. The honourable Baronet opposite has felicitously observed on that gentlemanly deportment which has distinguished you in presiding over the first Assembly of Freemen in Europe—and I may add, the first Assembly of Gentlemen in Europe. In that you have but fulfilled what we might expect from you. As the Speaker of this House is the first commoner in the country, so ought he to be the first gentleman in the country. You have exhibited the real perfection of a magistrate; for your decisions, even when against any individual, have been given in such a manner, that that individual himself has been satisfied with that decision. I have felt the greatest gratification in hearing the expression of the sentiments of others; but that gratification has not been unmixed with sensations of pain at your retirement. (Hear, hear, hear.)

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

THE SPEAKER—It is with the utmost gratitude and respect that I thank the House for the vote which they have just agreed to; and I can assure the House, with the utmost sincerity, that long as I have been in public life, and frequently as it has been my duty to address myself to this House, I never on any occasion felt so incompetent to give utterance to my feelings as at present. After the honour which the House have been pleased to confer on me, it would be hypocrisy in me to disclaim all merit whatever. My merit has been an anxious and steady desire to persevere in the discharge of my duty; and from the House have emanated the power, the force, and strength, that have enabled me to carry that wish into effect. I have now to acknowledge that most distinguished honour which a

public man can receive—the public approbation of my services given by those who have had the best opportunity of knowing how those services have been performed. I do acknowledge that honour with the most heartfelt gratitude.

LORD ALTHORP then moved—"That the thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for what he has now said to the House, and that the same be printed in the votes of this day, and entered on the journals of this House."—Agreed to unanimously.

LORD ALTHORP—I now rise for a purpose in which I am sure every Gentleman who hears me will concur with me. We have expressed the sense we entertain of the manner in which you have performed your duty; but it becomes our duty to carry the expression of our opinion further—it becomes us to carry to our Sovereign our sense of the mode in which you have performed your duty, and humbly to crave him to give us the power to show our approbation of your conduct, and to offer you some permanent expression of it. The noble Lord concluded by moving

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of his Royal favour upon the Right Honourable Charles Manners Sutton for his eminent services in the six Parliaments during which he has discharged the duties of Speaker of this House with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself, and conducive to the progress of public business; to commence and take effect immediately upon his ceasing to hold the office of Speaker of this House; and to assure his Majesty that this House will make good whatever expense his Majesty may think proper to be incurred on that account."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Tuesday, 31st July.

THE CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER appeared at the bar of the House, and stated in a voice too low to be audible but at intermissions, that he had to present to the House his Majesty's most gracious answer to the address of the Commons of England, voted on the preceding evening, and praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of his royal favour upon the Right Hon. C. Manners Sutton, for his eminent services in the six Parliaments, during which

he has discharged the duties of Speaker of the House with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself and conducive to the progress of public business, to commence and take effect immediately upon his ceasing to hold the office of Speaker of this House, and to assure his Majesty that this House would make good whatever expense his Majesty might think proper to be incurred on that account. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had received his Majesty's most gracious commands to tell the House, that his Majesty would comply with its wishes, and confer upon its Speaker some signal mark of his royal favour; and his Majesty recommended to the House the adoption of such measures as would accomplish that purpose. The message being brought up, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that to-morrow (this day) the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider his Majesty's most gracious answer.

Wednesday, 1st August.

PENSION TO THE SPEAKER.

On the motion of Mr. HUME, a return was ordered of the names of all Speakers who had received pensions on retiring from the chair, stating the number of years they had acted as Speaker, with the amount of the pensions, and the conditions under which they were granted.—Ordered.

On the motion of Lord ALTHORP, the House resolved itself into a committee on the King's answer to the address.

The SPEAKER accordingly left the chair, and it was taken by Mr. BERNAL.

LORD ALTHORP said, that after what had passed on a former night, it was not necessary for him to dwell on the special claims and merits of the Speaker. That right hon. Gentleman had stated that he would make no allusion to his predecessors in the office; but referring only to his own experience, he (Lord Althorp) would assert, that all the advantages the House had enjoyed of knowledge and facility under the last Speaker, Lord Colchester, had been increased under the present. (Cheers.) It was but justice to admit, that whatever claims former Speakers might have had on the liberality of Parliament, those of the present Speaker were at least equal in amount and value. He had filled the chair as long as Lord Colchester, and although he had not presided for the period it had been

occupied by Mr. Speaker Onslow (33 years), he had sat for considerably more hours of debate, which was to be accounted for by the vast increase of public business. He would now shortly advert to the precedents already established. Mr. Speaker Onslow had been allowed 3,000*l.* a year for his own life and that of his son, without any limitation as to appointment to office. At that date three thousand pounds a year was a much larger provision in proportion to the value of money than he was now about to propose. When Lord Sidmouth ceased to be Speaker he became Prime Minister of the country; he was, therefore, in receipt of a pension, not because he had been Speaker, but under an act of Parliament enabling the Crown to grant rewards to public servants. In the last instance, that of Lord Colchester, 4,000*l.* a year was given for his own life, and 3,000*l.* a year to his first successor; but the 4,000*l.* a year was to be reduced one-half if Lord Colchester accepted any office under the Crown to an equal amount. The proposition he (Lord Althorp) had now to make was, that 4,000*l.* should be granted to the Speaker for his own life (subject to the same conditions as Lord Colchester's pension), and 3,000*l.* a year for the life of his son. As, however, that son was entitled to the reversion of a considerable sinecure, it was intended that when he came into possession of that sinecure the pension should cease. This arrangement would be made in the bill to be founded upon the resolution, in which it would appear only that a sum of 4,000*l.* a year was granted to the Speaker, and 3,000*l.* a year to his son. He (Lord Althorp) apprehended it was not necessary to say more to induce the House to concur in the vote. (Cheers.) It was not, indeed, the general rule to grant pensions to Speakers, but in a case like the present, he did not think the proposition would meet with the slightest dissent. (Cheers from all sides.)

The resolution was then moved, and the question was put upon it.

Mr. HUME bore willing testimony to the urbane manners of the Speaker, and to the unexceptionable mode in which he had discharged his public duties. He contended, however, that the practice of granting pensions in cases like the present was quite novel, and that it was so would be shown by a return for which he had only this day moved. He hoped that the custom hereafter would be

discontinued, and that no expectation of the kind would be held out to any future Speaker. It was an office of honour, and many men, fully competent, would be ready to fill it, merely for the distinction it would confer. If he should have a seat in Parliament *when the next Speaker was elected, he should protest against any hope of pension being held out to him.* On this occasion he had no intention of opposing the grant.

Sir R. INGLIS fully concurred in what had been said on all sides respecting the claims and merits of the Speaker: he was unquestionably the first gentleman of one of the first assemblies of gentlemen, and on the whole was such a speaker as was not likely to be seen again. He combined the most perfect knowledge with the most finished manners.

Sir C. WETHERELL adverted to the case of Lord Colchester, who, together with his pension of 4,000*l.* a year, held a sinecure office in Ireland worth from 1,500*l.* to 1,800*l.* a year. The sinecure which would revert to the present Speaker's son was that of registrar of wills, but he saw no sufficient reason for not making the grant to the father 5,000*l.* a year, even if that to the son were continued at 3,000*l.* a year.

LORD ALTHORP said that he spoke in all sincerity, when he declared that he put the merits of the present Speaker above those of the gentlemen whom he had known in the same situation, and he did not even except the right hon. Gentleman's immediate predecessor, whom every one spoke of in terms of very high approbation. Still, however, he did not think, that when all the circumstances came to be considered, the increase recommended by the hon. and learned Member ought to be adopted. The son of the Speaker would succeed to a very lucrative office, the profits of which were, he believed, as much as 8,000*l.* a year, and with such an income he would not require a larger annuity than was proposed by the present resolution. He did not think that it should be a rule that there always should be a pension; but on the other hand, he did not think it ought to be a rule that there never should be a pension. The giving a pension ought to be a matter in the discretion of the House.

Mr. HUNT took this opportunity of saying what he should have said the other day, had he been present, that he agreed fully with all that had been said as to the merits of the

Speaker. He, the only Radical in that House (No, no)—the only avowed Radical (hear, hear from the Opposition)—agreed, *on this occasion, most perfectly with the sentiments of Whig and Tory.* The right hon. Gentleman's maxim had been to ride that House with a snaffle instead of a curb (hear, and a laugh), and every body liked him the better for it. (Hear, hear.) He was so anxious for unanimity on this subject, that *if the vote had been for 5,000l. a year he should have agreed to it*, although he was not very ready to vote away the public money.

Sir C. BURRELL supported the grants proposed by the noble Lord.

After a few words from Mr. CRESSET PELHAM, the resolution was agreed to.

The House resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

There it is "*vethted*," then; and now let us see *what it is*. This man has been Speaker fourteen years, I think it is. I know he was Speaker in 1819, when he made that stupid and ungrammatical speech to the Prince Regent, on the subject of PEEL'S BILL, which is consigned to everlasting ridicule and contempt in my English Grammar, and which shows him to have been as profoundly ignorant in matters of politics, as he was illiterate with regard to language. His salary has been *six thousand pounds sterling a year*, besides a *palace* to live in all the time, and besides all the servants and other expenses attending that palace. I believe he has great fees upon the passing of all bills for inclosures, turnpikes, canals, and so forth; but, taking only the *salary* into view, he has, all this time, been receiving more from this burdened nation, than the President of the United States of America, with a thousand times his labour, and ten thousand times his talent, has been during the same period, receiving from that *prosperous and happy republic*! Is not this monstrous? Do we not here see how it is that one nation is rich, and the other poor; one containing a happy, and the other a miserable people?

But we have here but a glimpse of the contrast so degrading to us, for, who has ever dared to insult the people of America with a proposition to tax

them for a pension to the President at his retirement from office? Such a proposition would bring everlasting opprobrium upon the head of the man from whom it should proceed. What! Mr. HUME proposes as a *pledge*, that the pledged member shall endeavour to get us "*cheap government*;" and yet he gives his assent to this grant, though the son of this Speaker is the heir to a sinecure of three thousand pounds a year! If this is the way that Mr. HUME means to get us "*cheap government*," the sooner we get rid of Mr. HUME the better. The son, observe, may be receiving the sinecure of his three thousand a year, while he will be receiving his pension of four thousand a year. Allow them to do this for ten years; that will be seventy thousand pounds. Allow the son to have the four thousands pounds for thirty years afterwards, that gives them a hundred and ninety thousand pounds. Add the eighty-four thousand pounds which the Speaker has already received in salary alone; and thus the speakership for fourteen years costs this burdened and insulted nation, two hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds; while there is an uncle who has been long receiving four thousand pounds a year, as retired Lord Chancellor of Ireland; while there is a father who is just dead, who was receiving for seven-and-twenty years, not less than thirty thousand pounds a year as Archbishop of CANTERBURY; and while there are of the same family, God knows how many generals, and other receivers of the taxes! What! and will a reformed Parliament cause the people of England still to be taxed to pay the pension now created; will it do this thing? If it do; *then confusion must come.*

But, now, did HUNT say that IF THE VOTE HAD BEEN FOR FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR HE WOULD HAVE AGREED TO IT? Did he say that he would have given to this man more than the wages received by *two hundred miserable hand-weavers of Preston*, who have to maintain, with that wages, themselves, and wives and children, amounting, pro-

bably, to a thousand persons? *Did he say this or did he not?* And if he did, is there, O God, one human being upon the face of the earth, who will *attempt to justify the saying?* Did HUNT remember that this man was Speaker at the time of the Manchester massacre, and did he remember that it was *this man's father*, who gave PARSON HAY the great living of ROCHDALE, *immediately after that bloody day?*

Alas! it is not by means like these that the kingly government is to be sustained in England; I have always most anxiously wished that it should be sustained; I most anxiously wish it still; but this is not the way to sustain it. Our aristocracy do not perceive the prodigious effect which has been produced on the minds of men by the *captivating example of the United States of America*. They do not perceive this; they do not perceive that the horrible depression in England has filled the United States with multitudes of intelligent Englishmen; they do not perceive that these move backwards and forwards from one country to the other; and that there is not now a circuit of ten miles in England itself, in which you do not find intelligent men who *have been* in the United States, and who know, in all their detail, the causes of the great difference in the state of the two countries. Those who wish to see the order of aristocracy overturned are glad to behold that which has now taken place with regard to the Speaker; as the gin-drinkers say when they swallow a potion, so the republicans say on occasions like this, "*There's another nail in the coffin!*" If one could cease to be serious on a subject so well calculated to engage the strong and sober feelings, one might observe upon the circumstance of the Speaker having been seized with this *fit of modesty*, on his having felt himself worn out with fatigue just at the moment when he saw a reformed Parliament making its appearance in the horizon; just as sailors when they see MOTHER CAREY'S chickens touching the curling waves with the tips of their wings, and see the sun setting behind a cloud, begin to

reef their sails, haul down their masts and to make all tight against a storm. The Speaker, with experienced seaman's eye, saw schedules A and B fast sinking behind the lowering clouds in the west, and accordingly he prepared for the consequences. But does he seriously believe that a reformed Parliament will abolish no pensions and no sinecures? Does he seriously believe this? He must believe it or he would not have acted as he has done; he must, strange as it is, believe that the PORTERS and PHILLIPSES and such-like men will *vote against* the abolition of pensions and sinecures, and will again dare to show their faces at WIGAN and at Manchester. Seeing that BURDETT, who for years and years declared that there could be no relief for us "*until the leaves were torn out of the accursed Red Book;*" seeing that this BURDETT is now for putting more leaves into that book, he evidently thinks that *all is safe!* Seeing that this BURDETT, who so railed against the "*crib,*" is now for cramming it with fodder, the Speaker thinks that his pension is as safe as the rents of an estate. He will find himself grievously deceived, for, all the efforts of a reformed Parliament out of the question, there is the MONEY AFFAIR yet to be settled; of which affair the result is not to be described by any man that ever yet held a pen. MURRAY says that it is "*a great experiment*" that we are about to "*TRY.*" No one can doubt MURRAY'S "*sincerity*" in hoping that it will succeed! Yes, MURRAY, we are going to *try* a great experiment; we are going to *try* hard to put a stop to LADY LOUISA'S pension. LADY LOUISA is the sister of the MARQUIS of ANGLESEA; she had one pension when she was a *maiden*, and another pension after she became the wife of Sir WILLIAM ERSKINE; she has had them both not much short of thirty years; and what public services LADY LOUISA has rendered, you, MURRAY, are *much more likely to know than I am*. But the cream of this jest is this, LADY LOUISA and her pension used to be a standing topic with BURDETT, *on the hustings at BRENTFORD, and at his din-*

nerings at the Crown and Anchor! "Gentlemen," he used to say, raising up his head and stretching out his hand at the same time, "*they tell us that the taxes are necessary to the safety of the nation.* Now, gentlemen, I should be glad to know how the nation can derive safety *from the pension to LADY LOUISA PAGET?*" Aye, BURDETT, and a reformed Parliament will be glad to know this, too, and it will put the question to you just as you used to put it to your hearers at BRENTFORD; and if you tell them that it is *vested*, they will laugh in your face.

In taking leave of this subject for the present I have only to add, that the whole of the transaction is a clear proof that neither of the two political parties have the least idea that any change whatsoever is to take place in the management of the affairs of the nation or in the treatment of the people.

BRIGHTON CANDIDATES.

THE following article will show to the people of the NORTH, that the reformers of the SOUTH are not quite asleep. The spenders of money in BRIGHTON have been brought together by the taxes and by nothing else; but the *tradesmen and working people* of BRIGHTON justly conclude that they are not indebted to the taxes. If these masses of the nation's means were not drawn together upon the spot, these tradesmen and working people know that they should have their share of those means in some other part of the kingdom. They feel that they are under *no obligation* to the taxing system, and that they suffer from it in common with the rest of their country. They have, too, experienced uncommon suffering from the *fluctuations caused by the paper-money*. A good understanding on such matters convinces them that they must benefit by the general benefit, which reform must confer on the rest of the country: they know that they do not *live on taxes*, but *live on labour*; they know, that the transferring

of wealth from one place to another can only *change the scene of their industry*. This BRIGHTON is so beautiful a place; it is so salubrious; it is so well calculated for the enjoyment of leisure and the renovation of the human frame, that, in a country so opulent as England, it will now always continue to be a very considerable town; and, perhaps, though it would be disturbed by the abolition of the taxing system, it would afterwards become more permanently prosperous; and this, I think very likely to be the case. But if it were not so, if the contrary were *sure* to be the case, the wealth now drawn hither would remain elsewhere in the kingdom; and the industry and labour now excited here would quickly find their way to that wealth. But, all this aside, when men have a duty to their country to perform, *self* is to be thrown out of the question: they are to act upon the old Norman proverb, "*Faire ce qu'il faut, arrive ce qu'il pourra:*" which MAJOR CARTWRIGHT used to interpret, "*do what is right and leave the rest to God.*" This was invariably his answer to all those who pestered him with fanciful difficulties and dangers. Upon this maxim the electors of BRIGHTON seem now resolved to act. The following paper contains the creed of Mr. GEORGE FAITHFULL, one of the candidates; and every one tells me that there is no doubt of his being elected. Thus, then, from PAISLEY and GLASGOW and EDINBURGH to the very *water's edge* in the south of England, this noble spirit prevails amongst the people; and, I must see a town of LANCASHIRE, of LANCASHIRE above all; I must see a town of *that* county that will choose a man not pledged to these things, before I will believe it.

THE POLITICAL CREED

OF

MR. GEORGE FAITHFULL,

One of the Candidates for the New Borough of Brighton, as expressed by himself at a numerous Meeting of his Friends, held at the Royal Sovereign, on Thursday, July 12, 1832.

(From the Brighton Herald of July 14.)

1. *Public Property*.—Private property must be held sacred; but public property is at the disposal of the people. Under this head I class church-lands, tithes, crown-lands, barracks, and naval and military academies. All this, I contend, is public property, and ought to be sold, and the proceeds applied towards the exigencies of the nation.

2. *Clergy*.—I think they should be allowed the churches, parsonage-houses, and ancient glebes; and that, in small parishes, where voluntary contributions are not to be expected, I am of opinion that the clergyman ought to have a reasonable allowance to support him decently, but not in a luxurious manner: none but the working clergy should receive anything; and as to the archbishops and bishops, if it can be shown that they are necessary, I would not consent to pay either of them more than 1,500*l.* a year. And as to the bishops legislating, and having seats in the House of Lords, I should be ashamed to suffer one session of Parliament to pass over without endeavouring to deprive them of their seats. (Applause.)

3. *Army*.—I am decidedly of opinion that it should be disbanded. The constitution knows nothing of a soldier in time of peace. Perhaps it might be necessary to keep a few in our valuable colonies abroad; but I would not have one soldier in England, Scotland, or Ireland. I would have horse and foot militias, which should be called out at stated periods of the year, and then return to the bosoms of their families; and not a body of men prepared, on the orders of their superiors, to plunge their bayonets into the breasts of their countrymen.

4. *Navy*.—It is the great bulwark of the nation. If we were to lose the sovereignty of the seas, we should sink into a state of comparative, if not positive, insignificance. I think, therefore, that the navy should be supported. But let it not be supposed that I am an advocate for that shameful system of patronage which has so long prevailed. Merit should be the only passport to promotion: and as to having two or three admirals to every ship of the line, which I believe is the case at present—(cries of "Shame," and laughter)—I am of opinion that that abomination ought to be put an end to.

5. *Taxes*.—They press heavily on us all.

Now I think that the assessed taxes, the malt, hop, soap, and stamp duties, should be done away with, and that there should be no taxes whatever except on land, houses, and interest of money lent on security; and I also think that a tax of that description should be on a graduated scale. For instance, and by way of illustration, I would say that a man who has anything under a thousand a year arising from ground, houses, or money, he should pay one per cent.; from one thousand to two, two per cent.; and so on up to 20,000*l.* Thus the burden would be borne by those who are best able to bear it.

6. *Parliament*.—The Septennial Act always appeared to me to be a shameful thing, and I would not sit over one session of Parliament without endeavouring to get it repealed. We then come to the triennial parliaments: now I am willing to give them a fair trial; but if they failed to produce the desired effect, I should then say we will have annual parliaments. (Applause.) And as regards the mode of taking votes, I am decidedly for the ballot. (Loud cheers.)

7. *Pensions and Sinécures*.—I say, without hesitation, sweep off the latter; but such pensions as shall be found to have been well merited, I would suggest should remain; but I firmly believe that, on investigation, it would turn out that there are but comparatively few of that description.

8. *Places*.—There are a great many useless ones which should be immediately abolished, and I think that, of those which are necessary, most of the salaries ought to be greatly reduced.

9. *Civil List*.—To me this is a very mysterious affair. I believe the civil list amounts to 800,000*l.* a year; a very moderate sum, certainly. (Laughter.) But the misfortune is, that the people do not know how it is disposed of. I believe it is expended partly in the pay of ambassadors, &c. I am an advocate for relieving his Majesty of that trouble, and for allowing the King a certain annual sum, free of all deductions. It is not necessary for me at present to state the precise sum which I think the King ought to receive, but I cannot refrain from stating that 500,000*l.* a year, the sum which his Majesty is supposed to have, is a great deal too much for his own expenditure; and as to the enormous sum settled on the Queen, in the event of the

demise of the King, that should be greatly reduced; and I do not know that I should consent to her receiving more than 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* a year.

10. *Custom-House Duties.*—I think they ought not to be all wholly abolished, as that would be prejudicial to our own manufactures; but, at the same time, I am of opinion that they should be to such an extent only as would afford a fair protection.

11. *Corn Laws.*—It strikes me that the country could never have been reduced to its present deplorable state, if the Minister of the day had not been supported by the landed interest. It is evident, however, that an immediate repeal of the corn-laws would ruin the farmers. Those laws ought to be repealed, but I think that an attempt should first be made to reduce taxation, so that our own farmers may be placed upon something like an equal footing with foreign agriculturists; but if the landed interest will not at once unite with other classes in demanding such a reduction of taxation, then I should be an advocate for repealing the corn-laws without further ceremony.

12. *Armed Police.*—I detest it, and would do everything in my power to put it down.

"I thank a gentleman opposite (resumed Mr. F.) who has reminded me that I have omitted to state my sentiments on universal suffrage. I believe it to be the abstract right of every man; and I think, moreover, that a heavy responsibility rests on those who have now the power of sending proper men to Parliament. I would, however, give the present extension of suffrage a fair trial, and if it fails I would be one of the forwardest in advocating universal suffrage. (Loud cheers.) Thus then, gentlemen, you have, in few words, the substance of my political creed. Those who approve of it will support me; and as to those who do not, I would rather be without their votes. I thank you for the hearing you have given me, and wish you all a good night." Mr. Faithfull then retired amidst a burst of applause.

THE GRENVILLES.

In the *Preston Chronicle* of the 28th of July I find the following article, on which, when I have inserted it, I have

a remark or two to offer. "The continued infirm state of the health of *Lord Grenville* affords no prospect of his Lordship *again taking any part in public affairs*. His Lordship, who is advancing towards his 80th year, resides in comparative retirement at his *pleasant seat at Dropmore*, where he enjoys the occasional society of his nephew *the Duke of Buckingham*, the *Right Hon. Thomas Grenville*, and a select circle of friends."

Here is a goodly group got together. The editor of this paper seems to look upon it as a *misfortune* that Lord GRENVILLE's state of health affords no prospect of his again taking any *part in public affairs*. To comfort Mr. WILCOCKSON, I beg to remind him, that this noble person, as his two last acts, *not only justified* the MANCHESTER magistrates and yeomanry of the 16th of August, 1819; but said that they would have deserved censure and punishment *if they had not done that which they did*; and, let it be remembered, to the honour of Lord GREY, that he most completely answered this speech and reprobated these sentiments of GRENVILLE, though GRENVILLE was seconded by the ELDER WELLESLEY, who is now Lord Steward of the Household. The other closing act of GRENVILLE *was, to support PEEL's BILL, to censure the Bank Directors for expressing fears with regard to its effects, to assert that it would cause a depression of prices only in a degree of three-and-a-half per cent., and to assert, that the nation would be ruined if the bill were not passed and adhered to.* He was once SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, beginning his career about forty-eight or forty-nine years ago; from that post he went to the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Those two offices gave him six thousand a year for about seventeen years. In 1806, he was made FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, out of which post PERCEVAL poked him in 1807. He has been out of active office ever since; but he has held the sinecure of Auditor of the Exchequer for about *fifty years*. It is a clear *four thousand pounds a year*; so that, for doing no-

thing at all, he has received two hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts; and, during the eighteen years and a half that he was in office he received, *in salary*, a hundred and eleven thousand pounds; so that, if there be any truth in arithmetic, here are *three hundred and eleven thousand pounds* of the public money, which this one GRENVILLE has received within my lifetime. Quite enough to make his retirement pretty pleasant at his seat at DROPMORE! but enough also to convince the editor of the *Preston Chronicle* that there is nothing so very *melancholy* in the fate of his Lordship.

But there are some particulars relating to this GRENVILLE that ought never to be lost sight of. The business of the Auditor of the Exchequer is, to examine and *check the accounts of the First Lord of the Treasury*. When, therefore, this man was made First Lord of the Treasury in 1806, it was necessary that he should *resign* his office of Auditor of the Exchequer! Sad dilemma for a GRENVILLE; to forego the great emoluments and patronage and power of First Lord of the Treasury, all of which might not be permanent; or to give up the life-long sinecure of four thousand pounds a year! One cannot help feeling for the man, as I, when a boy, hard-hearted as we used to be to those animals, frequently have for a jackass, when I saw him balancing between two thistles. "Come along, you fool," we used to say, and, pulling his head up to one of them, to leave him to browse away. Faith, a GRENVILLE was not to be treated thus: he would *have both at once*; or else he would not consent to form the new Ministry: and there were FOX and WINDHAM, *aye*, and GREY too, all in the most infernal stew, lest they should be kept out, and the PITTITES kept in, in consequence of the inflexibility of this double-devourer. At last, there being no other way of getting rid of the difficulty, he took the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and the very first act of the new Ministry was, to *hurry an act through both Houses of Parliament, to enable him to continue to be the Auditor,*

and to be the examiner and checker of his own accounts! And, there stands the act in the statute book, not far distant from another act, to idemnify PITT (the cousin of this GRENVILLE) that is to say, *to bear him harmless*, for having lent public money to BOYD and BENFIELD, to enable them to *make good instalments upon a loan which they had made to that public!* And, are these things to sleep *for ever*? Is there *never* to be a day when these wrongs are to be rectified?

This GRENVILLE had one duty to perform as Auditor of the Exchequer; namely, *to sign the Exchequer bills*. This duty he did not do, but left it to be done by a clerk. In 1809, I think it was, ASLETT, who was cashier, I think, in the Bank, embezzled a great parcel of Exchequer bills, for which he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to be *hanged*. He was related to some powerful person in the Bank; judgment was stayed upon the ground, *that the Exchequer bills were not Exchequer bills, because not signed by GRENVILLE*; and my Lords the Judges decided that *it was so*, and that ASLETT ought not to be hanged. What finally became of him I do not know, and it is of very little consequence; but, was GRENVILLE *called to account* for not having signed the Exchequer bills? Was he called to account for having been guilty of neglect, which furnished a colour for the escape of this mighty criminal? Oh, no! But GRENVILLE signed the bills *in future*, to be sure? Not he, indeed; and there stands another act in the statute book, *to dispense with his signature*, and to make it death to steal the bills, though not signed by him! Well then, the devil take the fellow, say I, who has the impudence to deny that this Government is "the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world." Every GRENVILLE is as proud as LUCIFER; but this one is the proudest of them all. It might be in the way of exaggeration; but it used to be related of him, *that he would not suffer a tailor to touch him when he measured him for clothes*; but, that he used to make him stand off at a distance

and take his dimensions by the view, as engineers take distances by their instruments. And, the good of it is, that I, who know well the extent of the talents of this man, am willing to take my oath, that I know *ten tailors*, each of whom is more fit for a Secretary of State than he ever was in his life. How often did FOX, SHERIDAN, old BEN HOBHOUSE, TIERNEY, and, above all, my Lord GREY *himself*, censure this very man, for his stupid and insolent letter, in answer to the letter of BUONAPARTE of 1799! How often did they assert, and truly assert, that that insolent letter would load England with a debt which would finally produce a convulsion? Does my Lord GREY forget these things? He cannot; and, oh! how he must now lament that he ever mixed himself up with this man and his family!

The readers of the *Register* will not have forgotten that, about three years ago, this man wrote and published a pamphlet on the SINKING FUND, in which he, repeating like a parrot what I had published twenty years before, treated the Sinking Fund, as a thing "*essentially mischievous*" in its very nature! Now, mark; this man was the colleague of PITT when the fund was first established; he was one of the loudest advocates for the fund; he was, for more than thirty years, a commissioner for managing the affairs of it; when First Lord of the Treasury he maintained the necessity of upholding it; he gave his sanction to the squandering of eighty millions of the nation's money to uphold it; and, after all that, with three hundred thousand pounds of our money in his pocket, he finds out that the fund is "*essentially mischievous*" in its very nature!

But I know more of this man than even this; I have been at close quarters with him. What! was I ever in the *same room* with him? Oh, Lord, no! The very wind of JUPITER would have stricken me dead! But I have been at close quarters with *the offspring of his brains*, and, luckily for us, he has no other offspring that I know of. When I came from America in the year 1800,

I became a bookseller in PALL MALL. This man had a pamphlet to publish, which he called "the letters of SULPICIOUS;" and the subject was a defence of our maritime rights against the claims set up by neutral nations. Who this SULPICIOUS was I do not know, but if he was as dull a fellow as GRENVILLE, never did the world look on such a pair. I received the manuscript from JUPITER, copied out in the neatest possible manner by some clerk. I was wonder-stricken at the nonsense and bad grammar, being then full of the notion that Lords were something more than common men. The manuscript went to my printers, Messrs. COX and BAYLIS, of Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; they sent the *proof-sheets* to me, and I, with all possible punctuality, transmitted them to JUPITER. I saw the blunders of every sort, but dared not think of correcting what JUPITER had written. The first *proofs* came back to me so full of alterations and amendments that it was next to impossible to make them out. This rendered second proofs necessary, which came back not much less disfigured than the former; the proofs went on to three, four, five, and six, one after another; and there were these clever printers two months, or more, in bringing out a pamphlet, containing not more matter than they have many times brought out from under my pen in eight-and-forty hours. The *corrections* of this dunder-headed stuff cost three times as much as the printing of the pamphlet itself. The thing had two good effects with regard to me; it made me begin to think that Lords were only *men*, and but indifferent men, too; and it made me resolve never to publish a pamphlet again, even for the real original JUPITER himself, if he were to descend from the skies. I printed but five hundred copies, JUPITER had about a hundred and fifty to give away; if I sold *a dozen*, that was the outside, and the rest went to the trunk-makers along with other rubbish. JUPITER did, however, at last pay for the paper and the print, but I felt so keenly the shame of publishing a thing that would not sell, that I have from that day to

this, never been the publisher of another man's works with a view to profit ; and, indeed, I have never done it at all except in the case of Mr. O'CALLAGHAN.

So much for the first personage in this family group. Next comes the nephew, his GRACE OF BUCKINGHAM, who, if, when he goes to "enjoy the society" of his uncle, take the pretty-nearly-million-bag which his father filled from his famous sinecure ; if he take this and jog it up against his uncle's three-hundred-thousand-pounds-bag ; and, if UNCLE TOM take the hundred-and-fifty-thousand-pounds-bag which he has filled from his sinecure, and joggle that up against the other two bags, what a joyous chinking there must be at DROPMORE ! Ah, Mr. WILCOCKSON ! And yet the son of Dr. CROMPTON, who, though a lawyer, brought, as his venerable father assures you, "*his heart in his hand* ;" and yet, even with his heart in his hand, and seeing who has got the money borrowed under the name of DEBT, *wants time to consider* whether the labour of the child in the cradle shall be taxed ; whether that child shall be a slave all his life, in order to raise the means of paying the interest of money borrowed for purposes such as those that we have here just beheld ! He wants *time to consider* whether this crying injustice shall continue, or whether it shall be put an end to ; but he wants not a moment to consider whether he shall abolish the CORN BILL *at once leaving all the taxes as they are*, and thereby plunge into ruin and confusion eighteen-twentieths of the people of this kingdom at once ; thereby depriving the manufacturers of four-fifths of their customers, and producing scenes of despair and of anarchy, such as never were witnessed before in the world. He is ready to do this at once, off hand, while he denounces as "*quacks*," those who propose that the child in the cradle shall not be a slave all its life to pay the interest of debts contracted before its father was born ; contracted, too, by schedules A and B ; and contracted, sir, for purposes such as we have seen.

I am extremely obliged to Mr. WIL-

COCKSON, not for anything that he has said favourable to me ; but for his having inserted the above paragraph, which has served as a text to this, I hope, very useful article, which, if he have room, I request him to insert in his excellent paper, for the information of the people of PRESTON, who, act in this case as they may, will always be objects of my unfeigned and unabated regard.

I had forgotten to mention one striking and peculiar characteristic of the family of GRENVILLE ; namely, that it always continues to belong to *both the parties at one and the same time*. It takes its *side* ; is decided in its hostility ; but, like the Swiss, it has always *some branch of the family in the enemy's army*. During the time that PITT became minister, until he went out in 1801, this family was wallowing in power, patronage and emolument ; its hostility to Fox and his party amounted to something like a duel with muskets in a saw-pit ; but BROTHER TOM *was a FOXITE all the while* ! Right honourable TOM, snugly sheltered behind his sinecure, in spite of his paternal affection, still *adhered to his friendship for Fox*. Cat after kind, they say, and, of course, nephew after *nuncy* ; accordingly we have now the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, the Marquis of CHANDOS, the WYNNS, and all the main army of the GRENVILLES, *deadly foes of reform* ; but there is a *small* detachment in the person of Lord NUGENT, following the example of *nuncy*, TOM, *marching as bold as brass into the Lord High Commissionership of the IONIAN Isles*, vacant by the inopportune death of that famous reformer, Sir JAMES MACDONALD ! And the parties think, I dare say, that this game is *always to be kept up* ! As the negroes say, "*You tink a lie, massa* ;" or, at any rate, if they do not think a lie, I am the most deceived of all the mortals that ever existed. Indeed, I *know* that they do ; for I know that, *in one way or another*, this terrible system must come to an end.

THE MONEY AFFAIR.

THIS is a *mighty matter* ! I am *watching* the wisecacres. They will

have all in confusion now, if they *move much*. I should not at all wonder to see them blow the thing up *before the reformed Parliament can be got together*. They must do *something*; and what *can* they do? What a set of fools it is! There are all the means of putting things to rights yet; but they will not adopt them, *because recommended by me*; and for no other reason whatsoever. Well, let them *take the consequences*!

PRESTON AFFAIRS.

I TAKE the following very interesting matter from the *Preston Chronicle* of the 28th of July. It is of great importance in several respects; in the foregoing article, on the GRENVILLES, I have alluded to the principal topic of it. I am particularly pleased with the right understanding which it proves to be entertained in the North with regard to the Corn Bill. I have no room or time for comment at present, and shall only add, that it will give me great pleasure to explain my views on these subjects to the people of PRESTON, in person, which I shall do, life and health permitting, in the last week of this month.

MEETING OF ELECTORS AND MR. CROMPTON.

In consequence, as we understand, of an arrangement between some members of the Political Union and Mr. C. Crompton, a meeting was held in the large room at the Blackmoor's Head, in Chadwick's Orchard, on Wednesday evening last. The meeting began to muster about seven o'clock, and at eight the room was crowded in an excessive manner, there being perhaps two or three hundred persons present, nearly all of them working men. Mr. Crompton was accompanied by his father, Dr. Crompton, Mr. Segar the barrister, and one or two other friends. Owing to the heat and the pressure of the crowd, it was difficult to take any notes; what we give, therefore, is in some degree drawn from memory; but we believe it will be found substantially correct. About half-past seven Mr. ——— was called to the chair, and briefly stated that the object of the meeting was to hear Mr. Crompton, who was a candidate for the representation of the borough, explain his principles; and to afford him an opportunity of answering such questions as might be put to him. He intimated that their old friend Dr. Crompton was in the room, and wished first to say a few words to them.

Dr. CROMPTON then presented himself,

and expressed the pleasure he felt in again meeting the electors of Preston,—a pleasure which was enhanced by his remembrance of the glorious scenes they had witnessed in 1817, when a set of saucy magistrates opposed themselves to the people, and wished to get up an address to the King against reform. He had then appeared amongst the people of Preston, and found them to be a set of men resolved to do good, and, by adhering to true rectitude of principle, to endeavour to break through the wretched coalition that then existed. He made some sacrifices on that occasion, without any hope of gaining his point, but he had satisfaction, at last, of making the parties sweat. A few weeks ago he received a beautifully well-written letter, requesting that he would come forward here as a candidate. Aware of his imbecility, aware of his imperfections, still the spirit of liberty was at his heart. (Cheers.) Aware of this, he wrote to the Political Union. Mr. Irvin and Mr. Seddon came and called on him, and on his declining himself, they asked him if he knew of any other man who would meet their views. He thanked them for their confidence, and mentioned his son. That son was now here with him, he it was who was with him when they attacked the infamous coalition, and he had ever since maintained the same independence of principle. He (Dr. C.) knew his son's integrity and his ability, and he knew, too, that no one abhorred more than that young man, meanness, hypocrisy, or truckling. He (Dr. C.) went to London to see him. "I had there (said Dr. C.) three days' unreserved conversation with him, and I found that he went on points which we all consider essential, even further than I did myself. He was brought up to the law, and as such, he has seen the arbitrary conduct of magistrates, and the necessity in all cases of having matters determined by trial by jury. After finding this, I resolved to bring him before you. If I thought he would not answer your expectations, I would not have brought him, for that would be trifling with you, as well as giving me (should his conduct disappoint you) the greatest grief in my latter days. I tell you he comes amongst you carrying his heart in his hand, and that in every action of his life he has been guided by good feeling, honour, and truth, and I therefore recommend him to your notice. Dr. C. concluded by adverting to the great honour which his son's acceptance by the electors would confer—an honour not unmingled with fame. Here he was, they might ask him what questions they liked, and he had no doubt he would answer them in a direct and intelligible manner.

Mr. C. CROMPTON then addressed the meeting. He said the chairman had stated the objects of the meeting, which were, as he had said, to explain to them his political opinions, and to answer such questions as might be put to him. The first part of this object would occupy him only a short time; the second (the questions) would, he trusted, be longer,

as it was the more important, and belonged more immediately to the electors themselves. He would answer all their questions candidly, and whether his replies were pleasing or otherwise, they would, he could assure them, be true. He came forward with no individual purpose, but as their friend on public principles. If any other two persons offered to represent them of sentiments more congenial with their own than those which he entertained, he would give way to such candidates. He would not stoop to solicit their suffrages in the usual way. He would not go about with canvassing books and lawyers from house to house, on the old system; nor did he think this was yet the time for them finally to choose, as some time would yet elapse before the election. He would ask no promises; if better men came, they must choose them. He did not mean to make distinct promises on every subject. If they thought better men would come, let them choose these men—choose anybody, and he would be content. He should now briefly inform them of his political sentiments:—I have thought for many years that the interests of the mass of the community, and particularly of those of the working classes, are not sufficiently represented. Now, however, since the passing of the Reform Bill, there is a chance of all parts of the community, being better attended to. Parliament ought to take care of this. One of the first measures to which he was favourable was the shortening of Parliaments. They ought to be shortened, he thought, in the first place, to three years, and if that would not do, they must go further; but they should try that first. We might perhaps trust them for three years: but not longer—Cries of “One year’s enough”—for there were great temptations thrown in the way of Members. He would, therefore, propose them being shortened to three years; he would try that first. Next, the great object was to get Parliament to attend to the wishes of a great majority of the working classes; and a great question, too, was the cutting away of useless pensions and places,—the looking into the church establishment, and a cutting away of monopolies: and looking forward, he should be glad at all times, to support such measures as would ensure to the working classes those comforts as well as necessities of life which they ought to have. He did not assume that any man whom they might elect would relieve them, all at once, from the state of suffering into which they were plunged; but they might, at least, have the consolation that their children might be so relieved—and themselves at no very distant period. What he should do would be for the mass of the people, and much must be done—for the old enemies of the people would do everything to keep up the old system. He concluded by stating that he was prepared to answer every question that might be put to him, and thanking them for the attention with which they had heard him, he declared that whatever should be the result,

whether he or another should be returned, that kindness and attention would claim his grateful thanks. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILCOCKSON then addressed the chairman, and asked if it would be considered intrusive in him, who was not a member of the Union, to submit a question or two to Mr. Crompton; and being told that the meeting was open for all persons, he proceeded to say, that it was very gratifying to him to hear the declarations of honesty and candour which had been made to the meeting, as it assured him of obtaining direct and definite answers to the questions upon which he wished to know the sentiments of Mr. Crompton. He would in the first place, ask him what amount of revenue he considered sufficient to defray all the requisite expenses of such a Government, as would maintain with dignity, and effect, the civil authorities, and the power of this nation?

Mr. CROMPTON—As to these questions of detail I am not quite prepared. They require a great deal of consideration. I believe my friend Mr. Wilcockson, (I hope I may call him so), from what I have heard him say, and from his opinions expressed elsewhere, means to ask “Will you cut down to the lowest possible fraction, the expenditure of the Government and will you cut off the national debt.” He wants to know if we are to pay the interest of the debt.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—I have no objection to waive my first question for the present, and come at once to the main point. I will ask, then, is Mr. Crompton prepared to say, whether, in his mind, it be just or not, that the working people of this day should be taxed, should have a portion of their earnings taken from them, in order to pay the interest of what is called the national debt?

Mr. CROMPTON—With respect to the people being taxed for this purpose, I say that the interests of the working classes must be looked to; but when I look to the enormous distress and misery which the cutting off at once of the dividends would cause, I cannot agree to such a proposition without looking to the landed proprietors and then to others; they ought to bear a portion of the misery and the forfeiture. It is a serious matter to consider how far the present generation ought to be taxed for the debts of former ones; but it would be going to a great and awful length to cut off these dividends at once. I am prepared to consider what would be the best course to take. The working classes, I admit, have great cause to complain of the burden of the debt; but much of the debt is in the hands of very poor persons, and I do not like to go to such enormous lengths. It is an awful and a serious question. A time might come when the weight of taxation would be so great that working people would be obliged to work such long hours to make it up, that a question might arise, but at present I do not see that necessity. (A voice in the crowd “You may just as well say, Work, and pay taxes for ever.”)

Mr. WILCOCKSON—My question refers to the present time. I ask, do you think the working people of England in the condition in which they actually are, ought to be made to contribute a portion of the fruit of their labour to pay the interest of the debt?

Mr. CROMPTON—I say that first of all we must take all the national property, and see what we can do then. We ought first to see whether the burdens of the people can be removed by this and by reductions in the expenditure—not to let the burden fall on one class only; namely the fundholders. I think the old Parliament laid too much of the weight upon the working classes; but much ought to be done before we sweep away the dividends.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—It must, I think, appear to this meeting pretty evident, that the gentleman (my friend Mr. Crompton) has not sufficiently studied the subject to enable him to give a decisive answer to the question. He is not, therefore, as it appears to me, qualified to become a useful member of Parliament yet. When he has devoted more time to the matter he may possibly come before us under better circumstances; but he now acknowledges that his information is not such as enables him to decide on the important question submitted to him in a decisive manner. He will not say he will advocate the destruction of the debt; and it is very possible, that after all his study he may still adhere to what now appears to be the bent of his mind, namely, to uphold the debt; and the continuance of taxes for payment of the interest of it.

Mr. CROMPTON—I am afraid I have not been quite understood. What I mean is, that if we can relieve the burden by any other means than cutting off the fundholder we should do so; but I do not approve of the wild manner, of sweeping away the debt which Mr. Wilcockson and others propose. If the people cannot be relieved by the means I propose, then we must then go to the debt and consider what must be done with it.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—It is quite clear that Mr. Crompton has not made up his mind on this subject. It is probable, as I have before intimated, that after all his application he may still adhere to the principle of upholding the debt. Returning again, therefore, to my first question, I would beg to ask Mr. Crompton on the supposition of the interest of the debt being to be provided for, how much he thinks it possible, by the most rigid economy and retrenchment, to abate from the present amount of the taxes.

Mr. CROMPTON—With a view to remove that portion of the taxes which weigh upon the people, I have already said I would make reductions. Let that be done first. I am afraid that time will come when some adjustment with the national creditor will become necessary; but if that is to be done, let us see how it is to be accomplished. And if it is to be so, the landowner ought to bear his share of the loss.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—I appeal to the meeting whether they consider that an answer to the question of how much he thinks can be deducted from the national expenditure. If he cannot give an answer, it must be evident that he has yet his lesson to learn. He is not yet, I submit, fit to be a member of Parliament.

Mr. CROMPTON—I did not come here prepared with a budget to meet all these details. I admit that the last generation had no right to tax the present; but I am not ready to give an answer as to the precise amount for which the government could be carried on. No man can yet tell that. (Some one in the crowd here said, "He asks questions that nobody can answer. Mr. Hunt could not answer such questions, and he's the cleverest man in the House of Commons.") Some few smiles were visible when this sage remark was delivered; but others, we suppose, heard the declaration with grave approval.) I cannot tell the precise number of millions that would be required, and I think the man who pretends to tell it must be a quack—unless, indeed, he has, as Mr. Wilcockson has, studied the subject for years.

Mr. SEGAR here came forward, and proposed that the question should be put in this way. "Is Mr. Crompton prepared to admit that a time may come when what is called the national faith shall be inconsistent with the national happiness and prosperity, and that then the debt ought to be done away with?" (A cry, "That time has come.")

Mr. CROMPTON said he was quite willing to give an affirmative answer to that question.

An individual then asked Mr. Crompton if he thought it right to take the revenues of the church of Ireland to pay the debt.

Mr. CROMPTON—I think the church of Ireland pretty well done for already. (A laugh.) I would take the revenues of the church as they fell in. I would take them quietly. I have long looked upon church property as public property, and I would appropriate a part of this property before sweeping away the dividends. My maxim is, to keep churchmen *poor* and *pure*. (Cheers.)

Dr. CROMPTON then stepped forward, and the chairman put it to the meeting whether the worthy doctor should be heard, and the question was carried in the affirmative. He then said he was delighted to enjoy the society of the electors of Preston more than any other body of men, even more than the freemen of Nottingham. Although he had on a former occasion forwarded their cause from the most disinterested motives, and at some pecuniary sacrifice, no influence, no love they might entertain for him should lead them to a preference of his son, if he were undeserving. He believed his son to be such that "corruption would sink abashed at his indignant glance," and that he would ever be found a friend to the people, and to licentiousness an inexorable foe. (Partial cheers.)

Mr. CROMPTON was then questioned by several parties in the room, whose names we did not

obtain, on the following subjects, to which we append the substance of the answers with as much accuracy as the very few notes we could make, and our recollection enable us to give. If we have in any instance given a wrong construction to the replies, we shall be most ready to amend them, upon receiving a satisfactory explanation.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.—He thought the present reform act would be the means of causing the people to have great influence; but in some instances, such as Bolton and other like towns, the franchise was not sufficiently extensive. But he would go on by degrees. He would try this first, and if it did not answer he would go to the extreme point, for the people must be attended to.

BALLOT.—He had never heard anything like an argument against it.

TAXATION ON KNOWLEDGE.—He thought it the most monstrous tax that could be thought of.

MILITARY FLOGGING.—He would first abolish the standing army. He would in time of peace have nothing but the nucleus of an army. If soldiers were wanted on an emergency he would have citizen soldiers; and who would think of flogging citizens.

DOING AWAY THE PROPERTY QUALIFICATION FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.—The provision at present was of little use, for under the existing law there were means by which almost anybody might obtain this qualification. He would not pledge himself on this point.

MAKING THE TRUTH A JUSTIFICATION FOR LIBEL.—On this subject he entered into a description of the legal distinctions; but intimated no desire to alter the law on the subject.

THE MANCHESTER MASSACRE.—He always was of opinion that murder was committed on these occasions, and that the parties implicated should have been brought to answer before a jury; but saw no possible good that could arise from a parliamentary inquiry on the subject, and he had a strong objection to proceedings of blood before such a tribunal as the Parliament.

CORN LAWS.—These he would instantly abolish.

At the close of these interrogatories Dr. Crompton again presented himself, and said, that his son had answered all the questions put to him in a satisfactory manner; and that as to the debt and such matters, how should any of them if they had money in the funds, like to have their savings taken from them. These were serious things that should be left for Parliament to discuss. As to pledges it was improper, frail mortals as we were, for any man to give them: it was like daring the Almighty. He concluded by eulogising his son, who, he repeated, brought his heart in his hand; who had never through life, deviated from rectitude, and who abhorred all deceit and truckling.

Three cheers were then given to the Doctor

for his former services. After some further talking, three cheers were proposed and a tolerable shout was raised, for Dr. Crompton and his son conjointly. These were followed by three rather higher-toned hurras for Mr. Hunt. Some one then proposed three groans for Wilcockson, and a considerable number responded to the call, but what proportion of the meeting thus manifested their feelings we cannot tell. For the credit of the party we hope it was not considerable. For the individual who was the object of the vituperative noise, we can vouch, that the only sensations they raised in his breast, were pity for the mental ignorance, and compassion for the moral blindness of the vomiters of so much foul breath.

After this, Mr. Crompton said, that in about a fortnight hence he hoped to have the pleasure of seeing many of them individually, and should be glad to be called upon by any elector who might wish to know his sentiments on any subject, or to consult him upon local grievances.

Thanks, accompanied by cheers, being given to the chairman, the business of the meeting terminated.

Mr. Crompton, accompanied by his father, and Mr. Rushton, of Liverpool, met a number of the electors on Thursday evening, at Hardwick's, the Grey Horse, when several of the points adverted to on Wednesday, and some others, were discussed. Mr. Crompton, on this occasion, seemed disposed to go farther than he did at the first meeting, in dealing with the debt, as well as on other topics.

THE EDITOR'S REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.

"We give elsewhere an account of a meeting which took place a few evenings ago, touching the sentiments of Mr. Crompton upon various important questions. From that account the electors will be able to judge for themselves how far Mr. Crompton will suit them as a representative of their opinions; and as a man in whose knowledge of state affairs the people can confide. There is only one point to which we would now beg to advert. Although Mr. Crompton is quite unable to say to what extent he would go in the abatement of taxes, and is not at all prepared to encounter the debt, he does not hesitate to declare that he would support the instant abolition of the corn-laws. Now let us discuss, for a moment, the consequences that such a step would produce unaccompanied by any other measures. To allow of the free importation of corn would either cause a fall in

the price of the article or not. If not, no benefit could possibly be gained from free importation; those, therefore, who propose to resort to this measure as a means of relief, calculate upon a considerable reduction. The probability, in fact, is, that the fall would be about two-thirds below the present averages. And what would be the consequence of this drop in the price? Why every contract between landlord and tenant would instantly assume a new character. For every two bushels of wheat which the farmer had to sell, to raise a given amount when his bargain was made, he must now part with three; and so of every other article of produce; in short, his gross receipts would amount in money to just two-thirds what they did before. The farmers through the country must, of course, be ruined the first year. And how would this benefit the manufacturer? He might have cheaper bread, but where would be the market for his goods? He might possibly gain a little in his export trade, but that would be only a poor compensation for the extinction of demand amongst his own countrymen. But the mischief would not stop here; the landowner, who had any interest to pay, would be unable to do so; estates would pass from the owner to the mortgagee; the cultivation of land would be neglected; the rural population would fall into a state of starvation, and be ready for any outrages; and wild confusion and uproar would ensue. Talk of sweeping measures, indeed! of robbing and spoliation! Nothing can equal the absurdity of those who talk of abolishing the corn-laws, *without at the same time taking measures for nearly abolishing the taxes*. Corn-laws, in some shape or another, are a necessary link in the chain by which the nation is bound to the taxing system. That system is one which exposes the commonwealth to the constant risk of a dissolution, and ought to be removed; but to effect this removal with safety, no unskilful hand should be allowed to interfere. It is an affair, as was properly observed by Mr. Crompton, that requires great study to

master; and it is on that account that it behoves us to be exceedingly particular to whom we entrust the management of it."

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THIS book is now published, and is for sale at *Bolt-court*, and at the bookshops in general. So large and expensive a book, including forty-three maps, never was sold for less than twice the price before. Here all the new divisions of counties, and everything else relating to the new parliamentary distribution, is to be found in the smallest compass, and in an arrangement the most commodious. I here again insert THE TITLE and the explanatory preface. The reader will be astonished at the mass of matter; and when he sees the book, he will think that we are got into cheap times indeed, when such a book can be sold for twelve shillings. But it was my desire to bring it within the compass of book-clubs of the working people.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with a *map*, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into DIOCESES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the *cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets, and tithings*, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of the *county*, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the *English counties*, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the *Welsh counties*, in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a *map*, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market-towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it

as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest city, borough, or market-town*, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a transaction at *Tilford*, how are we to know where *TILFORD* is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of *SURREY*; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in *SURREY*; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a *TITHING*, that it is in the parish of *PARNHAM*, and that *Farnham* is a *MARKET-TOWN*, distant therefrom in a direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map*

shows us, that this market-town lies at the WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases *the parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of SURREY, *Bagshot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from CHERTSEY, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of WINDLESHAM, and that that village is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from CHERTSEY; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. FIRST, under the name, in the Dictionary, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. SECOND, as the *Dictionary part* was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and which it is now my business to describe.

IX. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of

each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*, and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DI-

VISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in Parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities and boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, *and the number of voters which they formerly had*, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that

there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the **VERY ROOM** in which Dr. JOHNSON wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

WM. COBBETT.

No. 11, Bolt-court, 28 June, 1832.

From the **LONDON GAZETTE**,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

BOWYER, J., York-st., Westminster, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROMFIELD, W., Whitechurch, Salop, and High Ash, Chester, cheese-factor.

COOMBS, A. and W., Bennet's-hill, Doctors'-common, carpenters.

CRANKSHAW, J. and W., Manchester, manufacturers.

RICHENBURGH, M., Bath, silversmith.

TYRELL, J., Manchester-street, Manchester-square, commission-agent.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AITHCHINSON, J., Edinburgh, stationer.

COLVILL, W., Arbroath, banker.

HULE, R., and R. Ralston, Greenock, coal-merchants.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BEWSHER, W. N., George-street, Brighton, brewer.

HENDERSON, J., Hanover-square, hotel-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BIDDLE, J., London-road, Surrey, oil and colourman.

BOLTON, W., Harvington, Worcestershire, cattle-dealer.

FELLOWS, G., John's-court, King-street, Snowhill, commission-agent.

NORRIS, J., Liverpool, earthenware-dealer.

SELLERS, J. jun., Burnley, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

WATSON, H., Crown-row, Walworth-road, tea-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, AUG. 6.—Although we had a great deal of rain yester-

day, yet the weather being fine to-day, with every appearance of its continuance, our market was exceedingly heavy, having a liberal supply of old wheat from Essex and Kent, with a few samples of new from the former county, the quality of which was very fine, and sold at 74s. to 78s. per qr. Old wheat, even of the finest quality, went off very slowly at the prices of last Monday; but lower terms would have been complied with, to have effected sales of any other description. At this important crisis the weather will govern prices for the next three or four weeks, as harvest is now generally begun, and much will depend on the condition in which the crops may be secured.

The little barley at market to-day met very heavy sale, at a reduction of full 1s. per qr. Grey peas being scarce, are 2s. per qr. dearer.

Notwithstanding the shortness of the supply of oats, both of English and Irish growth, the trade was extremely dull, but fine fresh corn fully maintained the quotations of this day se'nnight.

Wheat	66s. to 72s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	30s. to 33s.
— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to —s.
— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 42s. to 48s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new ... 132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... —s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... —s. to —s.
— Cork ... 80s. to 82s.
— Limerick ... 80s. to 82s.
— Waterford ... 78s. to 80s.
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 64s. to 78s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 64s. to 68s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 40s. to 48s.
— Edam ... 46s. to 56s.
— Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 76s.

SMITHFIELD.—Aug. 6.

In this day's market, which was, for the time of year, throughout well supplied, the trade, with prime small beef and prime South Downs mutton, was somewhat brisk, at fully —with other kinds of beef and mutton, as also veal and pork, very dull, at barely—Friday's quotations; whilst lamb met with an exceedingly heavy sale, at a depression of 4d. per stone.

Fully a third of the beasts were Lincoln and Durham oxen, steers, and heifers, the remainder about equal numbers of Welsh runts, Hereford, Devons, Irish—for the most part fattened in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the London marshes,—and Town's-end cows, &c.; the sheep of about equal numbers of South Downs, and Leicester half-breeds, and a considerable number, say about 3,000, Kents, with about as many of (for the most part) sundry other polled breeds—there being only a few pens of small Scotch and Welsh horned sheep in the market; the lambs chiefly of the two former breeds.

Beasts, 2,703; sheep and lambs, 26,740; calves, 232; pigs, 200.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Aug. 10.

The arrivals are moderate. The market is very dull, with very little business doing. The prices are nominally the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$

DR. DOYLE ON TITHES.

This day is published, price 1s.,

THE EVIDENCE of the RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE, before the Irish Tithe Committee, taken from the Minutes of Evidence ordered to be printed by the House of Commons; being a comprehensive Explanation of the nature of Tithe and Church Property, and of their abuse in Ireland.

“I should rather have the last chair and table in my house seized on and sold by the auctioneer; nay, I would go so far as to say, I would suffer my life to be sacrificed, rather than voluntarily pay money that it might be applied as the produce of tithes has hitherto been applied.”—*Dr. Doyle, Min. of Evid.*

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